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come Wanias, *wamoa* of a new generation, son of Kakari's sister Rus. At the time of my visit Wanias was about four years old, already completely spoilt by the attention paid to him by virtue of his position.

Belonging to the original village of Kurtatchi there is a *tsunaun* lineage of the Nakarib clan. Its head had been Murian, who had died some time before my period of residence. His younger brother had died before him, so the succession passed to Siani, the eldest son of Murian's mother's younger sister. It so happened that Murian and Siani had the same father, he having married two sisters, but this had no bearing on the succession. There are no more brothers, so the office will be handed on to the *wamoa*, Matsi, the son of Murian's eldest sister. Matsi is still a small boy. The first son of his adolescent sister, Nawi, will be *wamoa* of his generation, and will one day be the heir.

I could get no information as to the origin of this difference between *tsunaun* and commoners. All discussions on the question elicited nothing but that they were *tsunaun* because they were related to people who had been *tsunaun* before them. The only information other than this was obtained from an old man at Tiop, who said that in olden times a man could be made *tsunaun* if he showed himself valiant in fighting. My visit to Tiop was brief, and I had no opportunity of checking this statement with other informants; I give his account therefore with this reservation. 'If a man had killed a great number of men, then it was decided that he should be made *tsunaun*. A raid was made on an enemy village, a prisoner was taken and brought back alive. His skin was cut until the blood flowed. The men who were already *tsunaun* washed the *tsunaun*-to-be in the prisoner's blood. This was done in the presence of all the people, so that all should know that he was *tsunaun*. The prisoner either died under this treatment or was killed, and the assembled people ate him in front of the principal house in the village. After this had been done, if the sister of the new *tsunaun* bore a child, he was *tsunaun* from birth, and so the rank was perpetuated.'

Some *tsunaun* possessed, in the olden days, authority much wider than that over their own kindred or village. This extended authority seems to be bound up with the state of sporadic warfare that existed all the time, not only between the coast people and those of the interior, but also among the coast villages themselves.

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554 565 Certain groups joined together against a common enemy, and asked one *tsunaun* to lead them all. Something of this extended authority, in a very attenuated condition, still survives. Pinari claimed a vague allegiance from the people of Timputs and Baniu, and said that before the time of the white man his lineage held sway over all the people living along the north coast of Bougainville and some of those of Buka. Pinari had a love of power and a somewhat exaggerated sense of his own importance, and detailed investigation in the area involved might have led to a modification of his statements, but there is no doubt that he had at one time been a *tsunaun* of considerable importance. He claimed that in the olden days his consent had to be asked before a fighting expedition was embarked upon: if he gave it, those who made the request had to pay him a length of ceremonial currency, if he refused it the project would be abandoned. The *tsunaun* was supposed to go to fight with his own people and to keep them together and prevent them from fighting among themselves. If he gave orders which were not obeyed, some of his followers would kill the offenders.

[171] 622 554 565 Exactly what the powers of the *tsunaun* were in the olden days it is now very difficult, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain. The whole position has been fundamentally altered by the new system introduced by the Germans and continued by the present Government. An official, called the 'kukerai',[1] is appointed for each village, or group of hamlets, who is responsible to the District Officer for the good behaviour of the villagers, but whose right to punish is limited to the imposition of a fine and, if that is ineffective, making a report to the D.O. He wears an official cap and is presented with a staff as a badge of office. He has under him a subordinate officer, called the 'tultul', who is usually chosen because of his ability to speak pidgin-English, so that he can act as interpreter between the natives and the government officials. In appointing the kukerai, inquiries are made of the natives as to the persons they consider of importance, and if possible some one who is *tsunaun* is chosen, when his position as a government official is materially strengthened by the fact that his authority is already recognized in the village. But in some instances the *tsunaun* is either unwilling to take office under the white man, or is

[1] This word is said to belong to a New Britain dialect and to mean 'one who judges'.

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considered by the D.O. to be unsuitable by reason of his age, degree of intelligence, or on other grounds. Some other man is then chosen at the discretion of the D.O., and though the natives are obliged to acknowledge him, he continues to rank, in their estimation, as a commoner, and his position is not an easy one, unless he is friendly with the hereditary head of the group. In the village of Tabut, the *tsunaun*, Karabun, refused to be kukerai, but Wasang, the man appointed, was his great friend, and they worked harmoniously together. But when I was collecting genealogies at Tabut, it was emphasized that Karabun and his mother, Tsonkaisa, were the people of importance in that village, and that Wasang was 'a nobody'. In case of actual hostility between the hereditary *tsunaun* and the government-appointed kukerai, the position of the latter, though unassailable, would be far from enviable. The possibility was admitted and discussed, but no instances of it came under my personal observation.

It seems likely that the elective and purely local office of kukerai will, in course of time, entirely supersede the hereditary *tsunaun*, who is primarily, though not exclusively, entitled to allegiance from his own clan. An instance showing that this process is already beginning may be cited from my records. Pinari, *tsunaun* of the Nakarib clan, was appointed kukerai of the village at which he lived, called Gomen. Siani, the *tsunaun* of the Naboin clan, residing at the village of Kurtatchi, about a quarter of a mile away, had been offered the official cap as kukerai of Kurtatchi, but had refused it, saying that he was content to be subordinate to Pinari as kukerai of both villages. He subsequently went off to work as an indentured labourer, returning towards the close of my visit. He now lives at Kurtatchi as an ordinary villager, and takes no part in the conduct of its affairs.

As a result of this substitution of the government-controlled jurisdiction of the kukerai for the traditional jurisdiction of the *tsunaun*, and with the passing of warfare, in which the powers and rights of the *tsunaun* were most clearly apparent, the original state of affairs has become so difficult to disentangle that I am not able to give a clear account of the exact position occupied by the *tsunaun* of the olden days. It is certain that he possessed the power of life and death over those under his jurisdiction, but I have no very clear evidence as to whether he exercised it entirely alone, or how much he conferred, in this and other matters of importance,

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614 with other *tsunaun* or with the old men of the group. A good deal
622 seems always to have depended on personal character. Although
565 the fact of being *tsunaun* was determined by heredity, and was inalienable, certain people are remembered, while others are forgotten, and it is natural that the man of strong personality would exercise authority far exceeding that of a *tsunaun* who was weak or indolent.

Pinari, in his dual capacity of *tsunaun* and kukerai, claimed as much authority as he dared, and bitterly regretted that the rule of the white man had deprived him of the power of life and death. He adjudicated on disputed questions of all kinds, claimed to have a say in the marriages of the people under his jurisdiction, and arranged for the holding of all important ceremonies. He did, occasionally, confer with the other men of the community, but he resented advice or criticism, unless it was offered with a considerable amount of tact. But he showed great respect for his two sisters, the only kinsfolk of his own generation still living, and sometimes even asked their advice. All three possessed a certain dignity of bearing and carriage that in itself showed that they were conscious of their position.

554 At the present time, the distinction between *tsunaun* and com-
565 moners is still marked by the very apparent deference which is paid by commoners to all people who are *tsunaun*. This was evident both from the respect paid to them in their presence and from the tone in which every one referred to them when speaking to me or among themselves, though there were some who dared to criticize Pinari—behind his back. But the most obvious difference consists of the way in which every event in the life of those who are *tsunaun* is marked by elaborate ceremonial procedure which is either absent, or much modified, in the case of commoners. This applies not only to major events such as birth, marriage, and death, but also to such minor landmarks as the first time the baby is carried on his mother's pack (see p. 189), the first time a girl goes to the bush to collect areca-palm spathes, and so on. With the abandonment of native ritual in consequence of contact with the white man, this last remaining distinction will shortly disappear, as it has already done, to all intents and purposes, at Petats.

The ceremonies attendant upon the life of a *tsunaun* will be described in their appropriate context. Apart from such occasions, people who are *tsunaun* live, and, it would appear, always have

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lived, the same kind of life as commoners, observing the same taboos, working at the same tasks, eating the same food, and living in the same kind of huts. To this last statement there is one exception. The hut in which lives the chief wife of the head of the *tsunaun* lineage, who is usually herself *tsunaun*, has an extension in front of it, roofed, and walled at the sides but open in front, and provided with the usual platform. This is called the 'eye' of the house. Here is kept the slit-gong belonging to the *tsunaun*, which is beaten on ceremonial occasions as well as for dances. Here the older men of the village will sometimes congregate to talk, while the boys and younger men use the front of the men's house for that purpose. Except on certain ceremonial occasions, women are not allowed there, as it is only an extension of the *tagoan*, or men's verandah, of the ordinary houses. This extension makes the house the longest in the village. Its interior is no different from that of other houses. The houses occupied by other members of the *tsunaun* lineage do not differ at all, either inside or out, from those of commoners. There is no distinctive dress or attached ornament peculiar to *tsunaun*, but some of the cicatrized patterns may not be cut upon commoners.

So far as I can ascertain, the prestige of a *tsunaun* was never directly a matter of the possession of property. He is not expected to give large feasts at his own expense. If the group is concerned in an important ceremony, for which much food must be provided, he will contribute as much as possible, but the others must bring their own contributions as well. He does, as a rule, own more strings of ceremonial currency than most people can boast of, either handed down on the death of former *tsunaun* or received as payment for favours shown. But he needs more than a commoner to provide for the marriage payments of the young men of his lineage, who, being themselves *tsunaun*, should marry women equal to them in position.

A *tsunaun* usually has several wives, but that is not in itself a sign of rank, since commoners may also have as many as they wish and can provide for. He will, however, usually be betrothed to at least two while still a mere boy, whereas the commoner is probably betrothed in youth to one only, pleasing himself as to any subsequent marriages. It is usual for the first wife of a man who is *tsunaun* to be herself *tsunaun*, belonging to another village, and usually to another clan. His other wives may, if he so desires, be

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though he did not know why. Her relatives would not consent to the match, they said her husband might want her back. As it was near the end of my period of residence, I did not hear whether anything further was done in the matter. In another case, in which all the principals were personally known to me, that of Kakari's marriage to Muben, the match was suggested by Muben's *tsoa* (actually the mother's mother's sister's son, but equivalent to the mother's brother). He lived at Kurtatchi, but actually belonged to Baniu, where Muben's mother lived. He was very ambitious, and clearly wanted the marriage because it allied him to the most important family in the district. That is to say, while the initiative usually rests with the boy's family, it may, on occasion, be taken by some relative of the bride's. Again, Pinari, who liked to exercise his authority, saw to it that he had a say in the case of betrothals of any of the young people in his village, even of those not closely related to him, and as he was *tsunaun tʃan*, deference was paid to his views.

The betrothal is not absolutely binding until the ceremonial currency has been handed over by the boy's people. This may be done while the girl is still quite small, but it is not necessary, or usual, to do so until her breasts begin to develop. Once arranged, a betrothal is seldom broken, even before the currency has changed hands, and to break it after that is a serious matter. A case came to my notice where a man fell in love with a girl who was already betrothed, and eventually ran away with her. Although the ceremonial exchanges connected with the prospective marriage had not been completed, the affair was regarded as a serious breach of customary rule, but it was finally settled by a payment of ceremonial currency from the lover to the girl's affianced husband. The couple have been living very happily together for several years. They have one child, a boy about a year old, whom both adore. It seems to be a genuine love match, a somewhat rare occurrence among these people.

At the time of betrothal, the boy may be considerably older than the girl, and may have finished his puberty ceremonies and taken off the *upi*, or he may be only slightly older and continue to wear the *upi* for several years subsequently. All except the youngest boys wearing the *upi* at Kurtatchi were already betrothed. The marriage is never consummated till the puberty ceremonies are finished and the *upi* removed, and usually not until the girl has

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881 At this stage in the proceedings I was reluctantly obliged to leave Kurtatchi as my time was at an end. The remainder of the preparations for the *watawutʃ*, and the ceremony itself, are therefore described not from observation but from information received from the natives, who professed to be sorry that I was not going to see it. The details given in the following pages have been verified with the utmost care, but it is impossible to know the extent of their incompleteness.

MAKING THE *UPI* FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 294 621 As soon as the 'long house' is completed, word is sent to the people of the mountains to come down and help to make the special *upi* with the red patterns which must be used for the *watawutʃ* (Pl. 27). The Kurtatchi people call for this service from the Hahon (Wawon in their dialect, which has no *h*) who live in the foot-hills behind the north coast. The men making the *upi* do not, however, work in the *tobar tʃan*, but in the ordinary *tobar*, [554] the only condition being that the owner of the *tobar* must possess a number of pigs—not for use, but as a sign of his prestige. One *tobar* in the village of Kurtatchi could not be used for this purpose because its owner had no pigs. The other two divided between them the making of the *upi* for the boys of the different villages of the group. For boys from Tabut and Wantoa the hats were to be made in the *tobar* belonging to Kakari, of the clan Nakarib, for those of Munlus, Baniata, Bona, Mosang, and Togaragar, in the *tobar* belonging to Wasē, clan Naboin. For the boys of Kurtatchi, the hats are made in the *tobar* of the clan to which each belongs. [292] One hat is made for each boy who is to take part in the ceremony. These special upi are called *wasōbō*. The Hahon people are paid for cutting the patterns. In the olden days this payment was made [465] with specially prized stone axe-heads, but nowadays with trade knives, and also sometimes with loin-cloths and other trade goods. [437] Ceremonial currency, either of shell or teeth, must never be used for this payment (perhaps because of its use in connexion with marriage?). The *amro* make the payments to the Hahon people, and are subsequently repaid by the mothers of the initiates.

881 294 764 The time occupied in making these hats is a period of great tension throughout the village. While the work is in progress the workers must stay in the *tobar*, and the village must be kept as silent as possible. No sweeping or cleaning must be done. Each

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oven prepared as above described. The scrapings of the coco-nut from which the liquid has been squeezed are eaten with great relish by the pigs. When thoroughly cooked, the packages are removed from the oven and kept in their wrappings until required for use, but they will not remain good for more than a few hours, so must be made not earlier than the day before they are required. When made up in the form of balls, the pudding is called *ararov*, in the form of the flat slabs which come out of the frames it is known as *menak*, or both kinds may be referred to as *kokoin*, a word which belongs to another dialect but is current throughout the area, being used in speaking pidgin-English.

This ceremonial pudding is the indispensable adjunct of every special occasion. It is either consumed on the spot, or given to visiting parties to take home with them. Presents of it are taken by guests to their host, who is required to reciprocate with similar packages on some future occasion. It is sometimes made especially for some individual as a mark of honour. Taro cooked in the ordinary way is always eaten along with it, as we eat bread with with some rather richly prepared dish. *Menak* is also made by using crushed canarium almonds instead of coco-nuts. This is considered a very great delicacy; it can be enjoyed only while the almonds are available.

Sweet potato and yam. These do not grow so readily here as in other parts of Bougainville, and are considered rather as a change from taro when they happen to be procurable, perhaps from other places by barter, than as staples of diet. I saw no yam vines equal in size or quantity to those of the mountain villages behind Kieta; the natives of the north coast say the soil is not very suitable for them. They are cooked in the same manner as taro, i.e. either boiled or roasted, but are not greatly enjoyed, being tough and stringy.

Bread-fruit (*Artocarpus*, several species) is very much liked while it is available, making a welcome change from taro, which is eaten in smaller quantities during the bread-fruit season. The trees seem to be in bearing almost continuously, one crop starting after the other has fallen, but they take some time to ripen, so that the fruit is not always ready. During my year of residence bread-fruit was eaten in October and in January, but the time when it was most plentiful was during July and August. At the end of the latter month in walking through rather unfrequented portions

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The leaves of a plant (nets)

and another (*korowin*) were cut up into small pieces and put on these fires. [These leaves give rise to a dense smoke which spreads all over the ground. It is intended to drive away the *urar* who might wish to do harm to the taro when it is planted. The smoke of the *nets* blinds them so that they cannot see the taro. The smoke of the *korowin* is directed against pigs, it blinds them so that they will not be able to get into the garden and spoil the taro. This is intended as a protection against possible disaster in the future, since there is at this stage in the proceedings no taro on the site or anywhere near it. No other fires may be lit on or near the taro garden on that day.]

In the middle of each plot a stick between 2 and 3 feet high was set up and half a dry coco-nut shell balanced on the top of it. The taro, when planted, will look up at the coco-nut on the top of its stick and will try to grow up tall so as to hide it.

In the village a number of men were busy making ceremonial pudding. One package was made especially large, 5 to 6 feet long, a foot broad, and a couple of inches thick.

The next day the village rose in great excitement, the climax of a growing tension which had been evident for some days. (There had been a *kōma* almost every night for about a week before.) The people cut and combed their hair, and covered their heads with black paint. Some of them also put paint on their faces, outlining the forehead with white and putting red dots or streaks on their cheeks and red on their ears.

Matēv, the woman of most importance in the village, carried the packages of ceremonial pudding down to the garden, a distance of about three miles. I accompanied her. When we arrived several other women pulled up a quantity of taro from another garden in the neighbourhood and went off to Tarongen to barter it, by appointment, with the women of Saposa for half-smoked fish to use as a relish, the occasion not being of sufficient importance to warrant the killing of pigs.

Other women brought down some specially selected taro stalks which had been obtained several days before, in exchange for pots, from the women of Baniu, where the soil is said to be better and the taro finer. All the taro stalks were laid out in piles in a shady place, and the tubers carefully cut off with black-lip oyster-shell knives. The stalks were then left heaped up in the shade for the time being. On top of the heaps were placed bundles of *ōts*, a plant

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The 'unofficial' marking consists of cuts made with a shell or a piece of glass, some more or less random as to their direction, some in sets of three, when they are supposed to represent the trail of the hermit crab (*sisir a kobar*). They are made on the arms or chest (see Pl. 11). Or a weal in the shape of a hollow circle may be made on the chest by pressing the hot bowl of a pipe against the skin; this is called *wawa'ets*. A small, solid, round weal, frequently seen in rows down the back of the arm, is made by pressing the cut end of the stem of a leaf of the tree called *lasebē* on the skin. A white milky sap is exuded which after a day or two causes an eruption not unlike that consequent upon vaccination which leaves a permanent weal, but it does not 'take' on some people. To mark themselves in this way is a favourite amusement with young girls. Scars are also made by pressing the stalk of a coco-nut, which has been heated in the fire, on to the surface of the skin. There is no ceremonial attached to these forms of marking.

The formal cicatrization is a much more elaborate affair. A man is usually scarred on chest and shoulders and the upper portion of the back, a woman all over her chest and abdomen, and frequently also on the thigh, not quite to the knee. Some people have the face scarred; in this case the body is not done (Pl. 69*a*). Certain patterns are signs of rank, others may be used by any one. The amount of cutting done depends entirely on the wish of the parents. It is not hereditary, but a father will often have his son cut with the same pattern as he has himself. Not every native is thus marked. Some account for their untouched skins by saying that they ran away at the time the ceremony was to be held, in which case it is not, as a rule, forced upon them later. It is gradually falling into disuse, being severely discouraged by the missionaries.

I did not see the operation performed. Nawi, the girl whose first menstruation ceremony is described in Chapter VIII, was ready for marking, but she was to go to the village of Baniu, where she had relatives, for the ceremony, as soon as there was enough taro for the necessary food-distribution accompanying it. The ceremony could not be performed at Kurtatchi because the *wata-wutf* had not been performed for the boys; pending this the cutting ceremony was taboo. If it were done, the girl would die, and her relatives would be very angry and 'make poison' to kill the people who had committed this breach of rule. The mere possibility was referred to with horror, and appeared to amount to

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The new put in posts for

them, to rest on. The platform, when finished, is about 2 feet wide and about 4 feet from the ground. (Measurements shown by gestures.) 304 852 [417]

A number of children are usually operated on at one time. The child of most importance is taken first. He is made to lie on the platform, and some women hold him down. The child's mother, father, brothers, and sisters must stay inside their own huts. They must not see the operation; if they did, the child's skin would prove hard, the knife would break, and the operation would be a lengthy one, and would probably not be finished at sunset. If this should happen, the mother takes the child away at sunset, and the marking is left unfinished. It may, however, be finished subsequently. [554]

The woman who is to do the cutting prepares herself by chewing the root of the plant *mogo* with the betel-mixture, and rubbing the mixture on her hand. This ensures that she will cut quickly and that her hand will not be heavy. [824]

All the time the operation is proceeding the women *kōma* and the slit-gong is beaten. They say that this is done so that the child will not feel the pain of the cutting, but my informants admitted that they knew it had no such effect, but merely drowned the child's cries. [533]

Women hold the child's legs and arms, and a man holds his head back so that he cannot see what is being done. If the face is to be cut, this is done first, no further marking being cut until the face has healed, or the body may be left without marks. The children to be operated on subsequently are kept inside the hut.

The child cries and screams all the time. He will say: 'Oh, mother, I am dying of thirst, let me come down and have a drink,' or, 'Father, come and take me away, I am dying.' He says to the woman who is holding him: 'Put me down; I want to go and relieve myself.' He is only making an excuse to get away. The woman takes no notice.

A big branch of the tree called *reŋto* (which has soft leaves) is planted near the platform, the leaves are used to wipe away the blood at intervals so that the operator can see what she has done. The blood is caught in a *kōbū* (dish made of areca-nut fibre). It is then thrown into the sea at a certain place. This place is taboo for fishing, and women may not get shell-fish from the reef there. For Kurtatchi, the place is called Ur; it is on the beach a few hundred [824] 304 226 784

[Use poles for the horizontal section of the platform—A.]

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she must buy it, paying in any commodity that happens to be available. But when a big feast, such as the *watawutʃ*, is held, each must contribute to the common stock for the entertainment of the vast crowds of visitors who will arrive for the occasion.

Portions of land are allotted by the *tsunaun* to any one who wishes to plant coco-nut palms.[1] These trees are then his personal property, and no one would take nuts from them without his consent, except such near relatives as children, or brothers and sisters, both blood and classificatory. However thirsty a man may be while on a journey, he would not think of climbing a coco-nut palm to shake down nuts, unless he came to a grove to whose owner he stood in such relationship.

Ownership is also recognized in certain trees, such as those used for making dug-out canoes, or those valued for their fruit, such as the canarium almond. It may be established by planting the tree, or inherited from a relative who planted. These trees will be on land which, though vested in the *tsunaun*, and said to 'belong to' him, is used by the whole group, as explained in a previous paragraph, so that the ownership of trees is differentiated from the ownership of the land they stand on. To a great extent it is true here, as is described by Thurnwald at Buin (1912, p. 34), that property is connected chiefly with the results of work.

Pigs.

Pigs rank as property next in importance to strings of *imun* and above *beroan*. They are entirely personal possessions, and may be owned by anybody, man, woman, or child. A man with no pigs is regarded as poor, but there is nothing to prevent him from gaining prestige in the village by other means. Sobak, one of the prominent rain-makers of Kurtatchi, had no pigs, and though this was sometimes the subject of rather jeering comment, it did not prevent him from receiving a certain amount of deference in view of his skill at rain-making. But a man without pigs is debarred from certain privileges. For example, only a man who can produce ten pigs may build a *tobar* (boys' house), and those wishing to make use of this *tobar* pay a pig to the owner, except the boys wearing the *upi*, who are exempt.

Each person knows his own pigs individually, treats them as

[1] The Government has now instituted a rule that every man must plant ten coco-nut palms for each of his children at birth.